MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS — Contd.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI RAJIV GANDHI) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I wsuld like first to thank all the hon. Members who have participated in the debate on the President's Address. I am told that in all fifty Members spoke— roughly. But I believe that the time that was allotted was used very usefully and completely by both sides of the House.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: More by the Congress Party:

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: The debate has been of a high order arid in keeping with our parliamentary practices. I want to thank all the Members for their participation.

This is the last year of this elected Government, and It is a good time to look back at what we have achieved during these four years and also look ahead to the challenges. Sir, our vision has been that of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal. We have followed in the footsteps of Indiraji. The unity and integrity of the country has been upper-most in our minds, followed only by the removal of poverty and the reduction of unemployment, by removal of social injustice, and then to take India to its rightful place in the world as one of the leaders of human civilization. Looking at how to tackle these tasks, the first task that we saw in front of us was to reduce tensions, end conflicts and confrontation aad bring peace and stability. Without that our energies would be wasted and no progress or development could take place along this route. We worked to reduce tensions nationally in our region and afeo globally.

On the economic front, our thrust was *r*- on poverty and unemployment, on rapid growth, to generate enough surpluses for anti-poverty programmes and unemployment programmes, and to deploy science and technology in the service of the poorer sections of our society, as a multiplier for the development effort. We worked at improving the delivery system of the Government.

Most of all we have made our economy competitive with other countries. For the first time; we had a 25 per cent increase in exports during the last year and this year it is likely to go to 25 per cent or perhaps a little higher. In two years we would have increased our exports by approximately 50 per cent.

So, looking at these programmes and directions, we have tried to have a new approach. This new approach has yielded encouraging results. When this Government took over at the end of 1984, there was tremendous despondency in the country. Everyone in every part of the country did not know what lay in the future. Would the country hold or would the country disintegrate? The country has not only held, it has become much stronger. Today, in no part of the country is there a feeling of threat to the unity and integrity of the nation.

Looking at what we have done across the nation, there were tensions in Assam. Those have ended. Some new ones have started very recently. I will come to those later. In Mizoram, 20-year-old insurgency has been finished. In Tripura, the insurgency has ended. The problems in the Darjeeling Hills have been cleared. Even in Punjab there has been progress.

Regionally, Afghanistan is cooling down very rapidly. Our relations with China have improved. With Pakistan things are better and with Sri Lanka things are much better. Globally where dialogue had come to a complete halt, today there is dialogue. The relationships are changing. Everyone is looking for a new world order, a new order for political relations, economic relations and something on the disarmament front to see that military relations did not always end up with confrontation. During these years, our economy has done well under very trying and difficult circumstances.

Sir, in the North-East, as I said, the insurgencies have ended. The Government took a very tough stand with the

[Shri Rajiv Gandhi] insurgents. The Government indicated that while on the one hand there is no compromise with the insurgents, there is no giving in to the blackmail of insurgency or terrorism, it has an open mind when it comes to talks only with two preconditions, that is, violence should be ended and any talks should be under our Constitution. With just these two provisos we were able to end insurgency and violence in the North-East. We showed that solutions are possible. We showed that we are capable of putting national interest above party interests and we did so very specifically in a number of cases. We have been able to restore full democ-racy in the North-East. For the few odd groups of remaining insurgents, we offered the same formula: no compromise on violence and under our Constitution we are willing to talk about anything. As I said, there is a new problem in Assam.

It is a problem for the Assam Government to look after very clearly on their own. From our side, whatever help they need or want, will be available from the Home Ministry.

Sir, coming to Punjab, we have given no quarter to terrorism. We have taken a tough position, and we have worked like we have in the rest of the country on the basic principle of only talking when violence is abjured and people fall within the purview of our Constitution. We had to give up the political process that we started because those in authority would not stand firm against the forces of terrorism. We have stood firm. Sir. The people of Punjab have stood firm with us. Sir, I would like to take this opportunity to salute the martyrs and patriots of Punjab who have died for the unity and integrity of our country. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank those political parlies who have worked with us, who have sacrificed with us in Punjab in fighting against terrorists and extremists. At the same time, I would like to point out that there are some who do not take this issue as seriously as they should. Sometimes 1 even feel that they do not look to the whole national interest in their actions. For example, after the completion of 'Operation Black Thunder', I was very dismayed when some from the Opposition parties—and when 1 say Opposition parties, I am not meaning members of this House or that House;_ 1 am talking of the Opposition in the country—some from the Opposition par ties decried "Operation Black Thunder'. It was sad because 'Operation Black Thunder' was not just a question of flushing out some terrorists from a holy shrine, from the Golden Temple. It was more than that. It showed the people of Punjab that the terrorists were not religious, it showed the people of Punjab that if anybody had committed sacrilege in the Holy Shrine, in the holy place, it was these terrorists and nobody else. And yet there were some amongst the Opposition who condemned that action. Then there are some who have demanded that our law delinking religion and politics should be repealed, taken away, and religion and politics should be allowed to be linked. And the sad thing is that one of those who have asked for this is a Member of this House, Sir.

AN HON. MEMBER: He is a habitual offender. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: There has also been a demand for a Sikh State, unfortunately, again by a Member of this House. . . .

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Shame.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: . . . .and I can assure you, Sir, that that Member is not from our Party. *(Interruptions)* The other day, Sir, some of the Members of the Opposition were very excited. But, you, Sir, did not give us an opportunity to speak on that occasion. . .

SHRI VIRENDRA VERMA: It was because you accused every Member of the Opposition . . .

(व्यवधान) । इसमें शोर मचाने की क्या बात है? प्रधान मंत्री ने अपोजीशन के हर

आदमी को हर बात के लिए एक्यूज किया। इस पर आप शोर क्यों मचाते हैं ...(व्यवधान)।

श्री राजीव गांधी: आदरणीय सदस्य को कुछ गलतफहमी है।

श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा: मुझे गलतफहमी नहीं है। आपने जो कहा...

श्री राजीव गांधी: मैंने यह कभी नहीं कहा था। मैंने यह जरूर कहा और मैं आज दोहराना चाहता हूं कि एक मेंबर ने जरूर कुछ कुछ चीजें करीं हैं और में उन्हें अन-पैट्रोटिक भी कहूंगा, एन्टी नेशनल भी कहूंगा ...(व्यवधान)... इन बातों को ...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Why don't you take action against him according to law?

श्री राजीव गांधी: अगर मौका दीजियेगा तो मैं कहूंगा। मौका तो दीजिये।

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: Take action according to law. Why are you simply accusing?

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY (Karnataka): Sir, would the Prime Minister kindly yield for a minute? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I have not yielded.

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: I request you to yield for a minute.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I am not yielded.

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: Then I have to say that what you have said is not right.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Let me repeat what I have said. There were some interruptions. It might have been mis-understood. At least one Member of this House, not belonging to our Party, has taken the stand which I consider unpatriotic and anti-national.

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: Your description is wrong. You cannot call difference of opinion on an issue as un-patriotic. *(Interruptions).*

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI BUTA SINGH):.Are you supporting him, Mr. Gurupadas-wamy?

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: I am not defending anybody, but to call a difference of opinion as unpatriotic is wrong, totally wrong.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: The question that I am asking is, has his party taken any action against him? *(Interruptions).*

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN RED-DY: He is as patriotic as you are.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOW-DHURY: Sir, may I request the Hon. Prime Minister the courtesy...

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No, no.

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: He has got coloured vision. I can't help it.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOW-DHURY: If I may ask for the courtesy of the Prime Minister to yield for a minute.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: How can one say no to a request like that?

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOW-DHURY: Thank you. May I at this point speak, Mr. Prime Minister, not as a lady, or as an opposition Member, but as an Indian? As an Indian I speak. I was following the Prime Minister's speech which started off on a very even temper. It was doing very well till he started dividing the House 'as a Member of the oposition' as 'a Member' etc. We have all a collective responsibility that we are in this House... *(Interruptions).* Sir, I would request that it would do the Prime Minister's image tremendous good if when he is in the House at least his ranks maintain discipline and silence, if nothing else. It would be a reflection of what we all hope to achieve in this country unitedly. We

[Shrimati Renuka Chowdhary] are in this together. We are no less patriotic, no less anything irrespective of what charges are put. We are • not here trading a slanging match. We are here in this House as people of this country because we are...

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Now, please sit down. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I do not want to make an issue with the young lady. Sir, I want to make it clear that I am not trying to divide the House. I am not trying to accuse the opposition. What I am trying to say is that sometimes we get carried away without realising what people have been doing in other places.

Now, I have a little booklet here. It is called "The Sikh Case", and it is brought out by the Bharat Mukti Morcha, Punjab. And it says on top: Genesis and solution of the Punjab problem'. It says here in the Foreword, right on top, first sentence: "The booklet prepared by the Punjab Unit of Bharat Mukti Morcha at the instance of Shri Ram Jethmalani, M.P., is an endeavour to place before the general public and particularly the opposition leaders the Punjab problem and to suggest a just and amicable settlement." Then towards the end of the Foreword it says: "Then towards the end of the fore" word it says: "Special thanks are due to Mr. Ram Jethmalani who read the draft and made many useful suggestions." And then beyond here it goes on to actually give some suggestions. The whole book is about 23 pages. It does not at any point talk about any killings by the terrorists. Nothing at all about that. There is only one reference to killings by terrorists, and I think I should read that out for your benefit. It is a long para; I will read just two sentences on the para. This is the only reference to killings by terrorists. It says: "The Golden Temple had been destroyed and desecrated in the past, but those who did it were outsiders. Every-time, the persons responsible for the sacrilege were exterminated. Assassination of the Prime Minister and the Army Chief of Staff should be viewed in that perspective." This is the only reference to people killed by the terrorists. Then it goes on to say: 'Solutions' here, solution and lots of things. It says: "Firstly, the solemn commitment made before Independence for creation of an autonomous Sikh State within India should be honoured." One, I am not aware of any such commitment; 1 am not aware of it. And what does 'Autonomous Sikh State within India' mean? This is a question I would like the hon. Members to think about, not the opposition, all the Members to think about: what does that mean and how has the Member of this House been propagating this? And his party has not taken any action on it, unless his party—1 do not know what his party thinks about it. Then, second—one more point...

SHRI VIRENDRA VERMA. Hundred per cent against Khalistan...

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: My party is not thinking on those lines; let me make it clear. It is an individual opinion, if at all.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: The second point now. That was 'firstly' and now it is 'secondly'; point No. 1, point No. 2 are not that relevant; point No. 3 now. "Secondly, repeal all the laws separating religion and politics". Is this what we want in this House? Then it goes on to 'Permanent Solution'. The last para is 'Permanent Solution'. "There being no alternative to the formation of an autonomous State within India, the structure of such a State a what should engage the deliberations of the opposition leaders". Is this what the opposition leaders have been discussing and is this what the opposition leaders want us to call them to discuss? Then it goes on; the last sentence now. This is on the 'autonomous State'. It ays: "It must have full internal autonomy with complete control over its economy. Only defence, foreign affairs, communication and currency to be Central subjects."...

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: Why are you wasting your time? We are not discussing it at all in our party....

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: No, I am not wasting the time...

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: We do not propose to discuss it at all; let me assure you.

SHRI VIRENDRA VERMA: It is a worthless document.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, the hon. Member belongs to the party of at least one of the Members who have spoken just now. I read his name. **pm ^S *T $* i You have supported his election. What action have you taken against him?

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN RED-DY: Somebody else and not he has written this book. It is not written by him.

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: In this country anybody can suggest a solution. Anybody in this country can make a suggestion and it is for us to take it or leave it. We do not propose to discuss this document at all. It is not our line.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Let me make it very clear. If any member of my party makes such a suggestion, I will expel him from my party, let any Congress member even speak like this, let us see.

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: There is no freedom of expression, freedom of speech.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: This is what you call 'freedom of speech'!

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: There is no debate in your party. How do you expect them to debate? There is no freedom.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Somebody said that they do not know who has written...

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: At least give them freedom. Please give them freedom.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN RED-DY: What is the authenticity of the book? Who has written it?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: The hon. Member is taking this very lightly, I am not. I am not taking it lightly and I can see some of the Members are not. Perhaps, when I spoke out the other day in the Lok Sabha, and I have much more with me, perhaps they are not aware of what some members are doing. I am requesting them to please be •ware of what some of yo.ir members are doing. *(Interruptions).* You say that you do not know this book. *(Interruptions).*

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN RED-DY: That is what we want to know. Who has. written this book, what is the authenticity of this book?

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: If somebody has done wrong, why don't you take action?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Why don't you take action? His party is sitting here.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: It is not a question of debate. Mr. Prime Minister, when so much information is with you, why don't you take action? You are in the Government. If somebody raises this question, then it will be a problem for you. Why is the Government not taking action?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: It is not for me or the Government or the Congress Party to take action. If a member of a particular opposition party or a particular party has made a statement which the party thinks is anti-national, unpatriotic, I expect that party to take action and not the Congress Party to take the action.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: You are not merely a party, you are also a Government.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: If the party has not taken any action for four-five months, I assume that the party supports that viewpoint.

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: I protest against his remarks. 1 have already said that this is not our party line. We do not propose to discuss this docu-

[Shri M.S. Gurupadaswamy]

ment at all. We do not approve of this line.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I will believe what the hon. Member says when he backs his words by action. Let us see action.

SHRI B. SATYAKARAYAN RED-DY: But somebody said that it has been written by your own people. We do not know. *(Interruptions).*

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Let us have some action.

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: If that is his point, I repudiate this line on behalf of my party. This is not my party's line.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: The hon. Member said that we have repudiated a lie. Is he implying that I have lied? *(Interruptions).* Line? Why have you not taken action against the hon. Member if the line is wrong?

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: We give liberty to make any proposal for discussion and we have not approved this line. It is not our line, it is not our thinking, it is not our proposal, it is not our solution.

श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा: मान्यवर, गलती तो गलती है... **(व्यवधान)**

श्री सभापति: वर्माजी, प्लीज डोन्ट डिस्टर्ब ...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा: मान्यवर, मैं यह गुजारिश कर रहा हूं आपकी आज्ञा से कि ...**(व्यवधान)** गलती को हमें स्वीकार करना चाहिए। यह जो भी लिखा है पुस्तक में इसकी हमने आज तक शक्ल नहीं देखी है। ...**(व्यवधान)**... वह तो यही बहुत बोलने वाले हैं, प्रधान मंत्री जी, आप सब से ज्यादा ही जानते हैं। यह गलत है, सौ फीसदी गलत है और मैं यह समझता हूं कि नेता, जनता पार्टी को इस मामले को टेक-अप करना चाहिए। किसी भी हालत में देश की एकता और अखंडता को कंप्रोमाईज़ नहीं किया जा सकता और हम सौ फीसदी खालिस्तान के खिलाफ हैं और खिलाफ रहेंगे और जिस पार्टी को मैं बिलांग करता हूं, उस पार्टी के स्वर्गीय नेता, चौधरी चरण सिंह जी, इस मामले में अपने स्पष्ट व्यूज़ रखते थे और कहते भी थे और जो कहा, उसी पर चलते भी थे।

श्री राजीव गांधी: सभापति जी, मैं वर्मा जी को बहुत धन्यवाद देता हूं।

श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा: लेकिन सारी पार्टी न कहा करें। अगर एक का नाम आप ले रहे हैं, तो मेम्बर्ज़ न कहें और यदि मेम्बर्ज़ है, तो उनके नाम बता दें।

श्री राजीव गांधी: मैं बताता हूं, वर्मा जी।

सभापति जी, मैं वर्मा जी को बहुत धन्यवाद देता हूं। मैं जानता हूं कि उनकी पार्टी की लाईन बहुत स्पष्ट रही है और कभी इस तरफ नहीं गई है। इसीलिए मुझे उस दिन बहुत दुख हुआ था जब वर्मा जी भी साथ चले गये थे। लेकिन मैं यह भी जानता हूं कि यह सब बातें इतनी स्पष्ट तरह से सबों के सामने नहीं हैं—कुछ लोग जानते हैं। लेकिन जो उसी मेम्बर की पार्टी में लोग हैं, कम से कम उन्हें तो इसके बारे में पूरी जानकारी होनी चाहिए।

उनका बहाना नहीं हो सकता है, हमारा हो सकता है कि हम नहीं जानते हैं कि कोई मेम्बर क्या कर रहा है, लेकिन अगर हमारी पार्टी का कोई मेम्बर कर रहा है ऐसी चीज, तो हमें मालूम होना चाहिए, कम से कम उन लोगों को तो मालूम होना चाहिए जिनकी पार्टी का है।

दूसरे, मैं क्षमा चाहता हूं जब मैंने अपोज़ीशन के मेम्बर्ज़ की बात की थी, जैसे मैंने शुरु में कहा—मैं खाली हाऊस के मेम्बर्ज़ की बात नहीं कर रहा था क्योंकि दूसरे जो मैंने एक-दो चीज कोट की है, वह हाऊस में नहीं, दूसरे सीनियर नेताओं ने कही है—कहीं दक्षिण में कही गई, कहीं उत्तर में कही गई, अलग-अलग जगह कही गई, लेकिन मैं चाहूंगा कि जहां पर इतनी स्पष्ट बातें आगे आ जाती हैं, तो जिन पार्टीज़ के मेम्बर्स यह कहते हैं, वह पार्टी उन मेम्बर्ज़ के ऊपर कुछ न कुछ कार्यवाही चलायेगी। ऐसे काम कम से कम वह खुद रोकें।

श्री बी॰ सत्यनारायण रेड्डी: भिंडरवाला को संत किसने कहा था? ...(व्यवधान)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, coming back to Punjab, last year I visited Punjab twice — in Septemer and October — and

on both occasions, I was overwhelmed by the enthusiasm and affection that the people of Punjab showed on those occasions. And when I talked to people — I drove almost 300-400 kilometres through Punjab, stopping at almost every village that we went through and every time I stopped I talked to the people, breaking out of the security and letting the people gather around — one thing became very clear to me there — that the people of Punjab are very clearly not supporting any secessionist or fundamentalist forces in that State. The people of Punjab are looking for only one thing. They are looking for their development work to get going at full speed and the law and order to be controlled properly. During these last four years, a lot has happened in Punjab, some good, some bad. On the whole, I feel that we have made progress. I do not want to go into too many details...

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: May I know what is the political solution to the Punjab problem?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I have read out the solution suggested by you. There is also a solution...

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Solution suggested by me?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: By your party, I am sorry ... *(Interruptions)*... By a Member of your party, I am sorry.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Not of my party either, no.

...(Interruptions)...

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Okay, I will now read out the solution suggested by your party. Should I?

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOW-DHURY: He says it is not his party

...(Interruptions)...

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I am not talking about that. I said, now I am going to read it out.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I am asking you, what solution are you suggesting to end the Punjab problem?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I believe there is something called National Front operating somewhere ...*(Interruptions)*... Yes, the National Front took a great leap forward by producing a 71-point programme. Sir, and the priority that the National Front has for Punjab was illustrated by the position that Punjab was given in those 71 points. Punjab was point No. 67. So, this is the priority that the National Front has given to a solution of the Punjab problem. All these parties — I don't even know how many there are — got together, put their heads together to think up this comprehensive 71-point programme which covers everything — the sun, the moon and the earth, everything, is covered in those 71 points. But all they could think about Punjab was, and I am putting it in quotation marks, "Immediate steps will be taken for a solution." That is the deep thinking that went into it, Sir.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOW-DHURY: What deep thinking did you doin Punjab? For the past five years youcould not come out with any solution...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I don't know, Sir, perhaps all 140 members of the Executive contributed to this decision that immediate steps will be taken ;.. .*(Interruptions)...** I will tell you what we have done in Punjab, Sir.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: There are not 140 members in the Executive.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I am sorry, I have been misled, Sir. ...*(Interruptions)*.... I am sorry, that is the Janata Dal — not the Front ...*(Interruptions)*...

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: You were talking about the Front and now shifting to Janata Dal.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: On Janata Dal and National Front, I am totally oaafuscd ...*(Interruptions)*...

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: For your information, let me tell you ....

...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: I just make a request: The Prime Minister should have a detailed exercise to know all these things.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I must admit, Sir, I have not had much difficulty understanding fairly intricate and complicated international problems, but all these months I found it impossible to sort out who is in the National Front and what the National Front is, who is in the Dal *mi* what the Dal is....*(Interruptions)*....

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: You saw it in Tamil Nadu: We have won the battle against you there.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, perhaps, some day they will enlighten this House by telling us which party they actually belong to.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: There is no problem about that. We are very clear in our mind.

SHRI B SATYANARAYAN RED-DY: What ....*(Interruptions)*.... We have proved it in Tamil Nadu.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Satyanarayan Reddy, you are not in the Janata Dal. Let him speak. Please sit down ....*(Interruptions)*....

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: He is speaking about the National Front.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, I would like the honourable Member to clarify to me: Is he a Member of the Telugu Desam? Is he a Member of ....

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Me?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Not you, Sir. The other Member who is standing up.

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: Mr. Satyanarayan Reddy.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Is he a Member of Telugu Desam? Is he a Member of Janata Dal? Is he a Member flf National Front? Or, is he a Member of all?

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: Against your misrule we are all one. We are all Members of Telugu Desam. I am a Member of the Telugu Desam and part of the National Front. We are all one against the misrule of Congress.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: He is like the Diner's Card which can be used in every hotel, no. problem.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to thank the hon. Member for the explanation, and from what I have understood, he is as confused as I am.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN RED- DY: I am not confused: you are confused. We are very clear. I am telling that the whole Opposition is one against the misrule of the Congress.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Thank you very much.

Sir, what we have achieved in Punjab is this. We set out to do two or three things. We set out, one, to break the link, the religious and fundamentalist link with the terrorists and the criminals; second, to bring the criminals and terrorists to book; third, to bring about normalcy in Punjab, including in the political pro-

cess. We have been sometimes more successful in one, sometimes more in another, sometimes less. Today, I can say with confidence that in one thing we have been successful in these past two years. We have broken the nexus between the fundamentalists, the secessionists and the youngsters who are today the terrorists and who are the criminals. It has been broken. Today, Sir, the gurdwaras no longer act as sanctuaries for the terrorists. Today, Sir, the devout are shocked and distressed by the defilement that these terrorists have done in gurdwaras. It has been exposed. The Golden Temple has been restored to its pristine purity. The full *maryada* is being observed. Recently on the Makra Sankranti Day 20,000 devotees on one day, visited the Golden Temple.

The social reform movement that had started trying to get people, trying to get ladies not to make up, change their head style and change their dress, trying to make men change their clothes and their shaving habits and other things, has all but died away, petered out. One does not hear about it any more.

Schools and colleges are back to normal. Last year over 50,000 school-leaving children took examinations.

The economy of Punjab is strong and robust despite the drought in 1987 and the very severe unprecedented floods in 1988.

The terrorists, barring one group and some individuals, have no more links With fundamentalism or religion. They are today pure and simple criminals involved in drug-trafficking, in smuggling. in looting. Amongst the people, there is wide-spread revulsion at such criminal activities.

I feel that in spite of the difficulties that we arc having even today with the law-and-order position, it is an advance on where we started off in 1984, and it has come about because the people of Punjab have stood with us. It has come about because Congress with the two Communist Parties, worked solidly against tremendous odds in Punjab, not worrying about life, not worrying about sacrifice, not Worrying about what lies ahead. And for that, I would like to thank the people of Punjab and the workers of the Congress in Punjab and the two Communist Parties in Punjab.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOW-DHURY: And the people of this country are standing by you.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Thank you.

SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR (Bihar): What about the sacrifices of the BJP in Punjab? We have sacrificed our dedicated workers, including our President. In Punjab, for the unity of the country and for the Hindu-Sikh unity in Punjab and you don't have a word to say for it.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: No. I had talked earlier about those who had sac rificed and that includes the workers of the BJP. But I would .....

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOW-DHURY: You must say all sections of the people. You must take pride, Mr. Prime Minister. You are speaking here as Prime Minister of the country, not as the Congress President, despite the fact that your speech looks as if it is the Congress Manifesto. Take pride. Include everybody. It is the national fabric that has stood by you as a people. The flag thai you hoisted ....*(Interruptions)* You must believe that we belong to the country. Don't have a word or gesture which separates us. And don't let your ranks do this. *(Interruptions)* What is this. This is what separates the country.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Again I ap-preciate what the young lady has said. What I was talking about was about the workers who arc working on (he ground in Punjab. 1 am not talking about the support. We had the support. We could

[Shri Rajiv Gandhi]

not have carried this out if the nation had not stood with us. The nation and the people of India had supported us and I thank them for it. But let me come back to Punjab. I was talking about who is fighting the terrorists, who is fighting the fundamentalists on the ground in Punjab. It is the worker of the Congress, the CPI and the CPM.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOW-DHURY: It is not just a Congressman, it is an Indian who is fighting for India. That is what I am trying to tell you. It is an Indian who is fighting for India. If you separate a Congressman from India, Mr. Prime Minister, your party suffers. I speak on behalf of the nation which I represent on the floor of the House. I sit as an Indian; not even as a woman. Take pride in that, Mr. Prime Minister. Please, may your ranks understand that they are not extra special because they are Congressmen. We take pride despite not being in the Congress. You must impress this upon them. *(Interruptions)*

DR. RATNAKAR PANDEY (Uttar Pradesh): I am on a point of order.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is no point of order.

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय: सभापति महोदय, ये महिला सदस्य हर बार खड़ी हो जाती हैं...**(व्यवधान)**... इस तरह से सदन नहीं चल सकता। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I had assumed certain things. But as the young lady does not understand, I will try and explain in elementary detail. I talked first about the people of Punjab. They were the first group that I mentioned and I thanked the people of Punjab for working and fighting against the terrorists. From there I went to the political parties, whom I, as Prime Minister, see as working on the ground as organisations. The people of Punjab did not work as an organisation. They worked as individuals. Apart from that the parties worked as organisations. The Communist parties and the Congress Party have fought terrorism on the ground in Punjab as organisations geared up for it. One member has raised a point about BJP. I had included the Incinbers of the BJP who have sacrificed, when I first spoke about the sacrifices and my saluting them. I cannot say the same thing for the. party as a whole. The party, I feel, has incited communalism and perhaps, at some points, made things more difficult.

SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR: We have been all for Hindu-Sikh unity and have sacrificed our lives there. I can put that on record. This is something which I want to put on record and I would like clarification from the Prime Minister.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, the hon. Member wanted something. I have told him my view. If he is not happy, well it is too bad. Next time he should not ask.

SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR: I can seek clarifications as long as the House is there. We have that privilege.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I feel that we have come a long way and the people of Punjab, after this long haul, deserve some more incentives to continue this fight and struggle. On our part there will be no letting off on the violence and terrorism. The action will be even stronger. But to help normalise the situation in Punjab because having cleaned the terrorists out of the Gurudwaras, having separated the religious and fundamentalist linkages, we feel it is time now to start the process of normalisation. We will be watching and measuring this proces at every step as we go along. If we feel the things are not going well, we will slow down. If they go worse, we till stop. If they go well, we will accelerate and do things faster.

We have decided to take a number of steps to bring about normalcy in Punjab. The first step is that all Jodhpur under-trials will be released. There are some amongst Jodhpur undertrials who have other charges, who are accused of other things. The normal process of law will continue with those categories of people.

SHRI VIRENDRA VERMA: How many?

श्री राजीव गांधी: जब अखबार में आएगा, गिनती कर लीजिएगा । 10 अंगुलियां हैं आपकी ।

श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा: इतने नम्बर हो, न बता सकते हो, न बताइए? ..*व्यवधान*)..

श्री राजीव गांधी: बहुत कम हैं।

We will be also requesting the Punjab Government to withdraw the cases that they have launched for objectionable speeches and objectionable writings. We will be removing the restrictions under the Foreigners Act on visiting Punjab and we will be restricting to seriously disturbed areas only the Punjab Disturbed Areas Act and the Armed Forces (Punjab and Chandigarh) Special Powers Act. Sir, TADA will be used only very rarely. We will be withdrawing the NSA (Special Amendment) for the Punjab but the parent Act will continue. Most important wc will be trying to normalise the functioning of the Police Stations. A monitoring mechanism will be set up to see that cases are properly followed up and registered and all the corrective actions taken.

One of the most difficult areas durine this period has been that development in Punjab has suffered in simple things like maintenance of roads and other infrastructure. There also have been problems and to overcome these problems, we are recommending that Development Committees be set up initially at the district level, and after watching now this works, at the sub-divisional level. The District Committee will be chaired by a D.M. and we will associate non-officials also in these Committees. I believe work has already started and the various political parties have given names of their people in each district to.the Governor and the Governor is now going into the actual format and the functioning of these Committees. We will see that some devolution of powers is given to these Committee*. Certainly, in the anti-poverty programmes, we can do that. In some other areas, wc will try and do it. They will have an advisory role and a role as a grievance rcdressal machinery. This should help normalsie the development process in Punjab. It should also help involve the people of Punjab after a long time in the development process.

Then, we will be setting up a village defence organisation. This will be made up mostly of non-political parties, ex-servicemen, ex-CRPF, ex-BSF and basically cx-uniformed people and their task will be to protect the villages. They will be trained and prepared to be able to cope with that and to motivate the local people to stand up in their own defence against the terrorists.

Most important of all, we will be starting the democratisation process by holding Panchayat elections starting sometime m the middle of May and hopefully ending by the middle of this year. Wc would like full restoration of the political process but that may be difficult till we are completely able to end violence and terrorism that is still continuing. But a beginning has been made. We will be watching and if things move well, wc will continue the process following the Panchayat elections. Sir, then I have promised that 1 would have a Cabinet Committee to go into the problems in Punjab. They have had a number of meetings and we will be calling Opposition parties in Punjab for talks on solution for the problems in Punjab and how to move ahead from here. Sir, there is one more point I would like to mention, linked to Punjab and it is always raised when Punjab is raised and that is the violence that followed Indiraji's assassination in Delhi. We have been accused on a number of occasions of inaction on the Delhi riots. I would like to clarify that there has been no inaction on the part of the Government. There has been action on the part of the Government. Sir, altogether...*(Interruption)*

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOW-DHURY: What is the action?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: थोड़ा ठहरिए। Sir, we have registered 225 eases with over 2,300 accused. Most of them are sitll in the judicial process. Sir, you know what our judicial process is like but we have faith in our judicial system. It is sometimes slow but always grinds to a proper conclusion. Eleven cases have concluded with conviction, over 90 people have been convicted and six people have got life imprisonment. So, there is no question of no action. There is action, action will be complete and we will see that everybody is brought to book through the proper system, the legal system. Sir, there has been a lot of talk about Centre-State relations and I think, I will spend just a few minutes on the Centre-State relations. We have from the Centre repeatedly demonstrated that we want good Centre-State relations. We worked with the State Government, sometimes on very sticky and tricky problems and found solution. Sir. We have fully associated ourselves whenever there have been calamities and problems. We have not divided the States into Congress or non-Congress or Opposition or anything like that. We have dealt equally with all the States. On development programmes, we have worked together with the States. But perhaps most important is where you get into really difficult problems, we have cooperated with the States in finding solution. An example is the problem in the Darjeeling hills with the GNLF. There could not have been a solution without the involvement of the Centre and if the Centre had not stepped in, I have no doubt the Bengal would have been very close to division. It could not have held. But we stepped -in to see that Bengal was not divided and remained on one united State and we stepped in the spite of the very heavy political cost we paid for it. It came up just before elections. I took a stand, we took a stand that we must not make this an issue which will divide Bengal. Many others did not and it is only because of that that we were able to pull them back in. Like I said, the Congress is willing to rise above party interests when national interests arc at stake. Similarly, we have worked for finding solutions to tricky things like cooling down the border dispute between Nagaland and 6.00 P.M. Assam and many of the water problems. Some are still sticky and not working out. But we are working at them. But we would like the Centre-State relations to be at the best. But one must remember that we look at things from a national perspective. Invariably, the picture from the States is different. It is not just how the Prime Minister sees things. We have Central Ministers who were Chief Ministers and we have Chief Ministers who were Central Ministers and, Sir, you cannot imagine how rapidly their view point changes when they take the flight across to the Capital. And we have a happy situation today where Central Ministers are quoting Chief Ministers' letters the Chief Ministers wrote as Central Ministers and Chief Ministers are quoting the same persons' letters which they wrote to the Centre as Chief Ministers. What I am trying to say is that this is not an Opposition-versus-Congress problem. This is a problem of institution building, of nation-building. There are these arguments. They will be there. But what we want.to work for is to see that the institution becomes strong, that nothing is done to weaken the nation, to weaken the unity and the integrity of India.

Sir, coming to the economic policy, during these years, our basic thrusts have been for the removal of poverty and the removal of unemployment. The Seventh Plan was built around these thrusts and we have made significant achievements in these four years of the Seventh Plan. The growth-rate in the Seventh Plan period has been above target in spite of the very severe weather conditions that we have gone through, one year of unprcedented draught preceded by a year of severe droupht which was preceded by two years of sort of stalled monsoons, in spite of that, we have got growth-rates above the targeted growth-rates and especially, the 1987 drought was handled very well. I

would like to congratulate all those involved in the handling of the drought, at the Centre, in the States, in the Government and in the administrations at the grass-root level. I would like to congratulate the farmers, the khethmazdoor and the mazdoor of the country, on the way they coped with the drought. What I am really saying is, I would like to congratulate all the people of the country on the way they stood together to face the unprecedented climatic situation. Because of the handling of the drought, we had a growth of 3.6 per cent during this drought, plus 3.6 per cent. Never before in our history has the country moved forward under such severe conditions. But 3.6 per cent would have been a high rate of growth for the country just fifteen, twenty years ago. And if we just go back to the period when some of our hon. friends were sitting on this side and we were on that side, I think they would have been proud of a 3.6 per cent growth at any time during that period. And I would like to remind them that preceding this drought was the drought in 1978-79 which was nowhere near the severity of this drought. It was a very mild drought compared to this one. But during that year the growth-rate was minus 4.7 per cent. So, if we compare it, we have had a difference of over eight per cent in growth-rate comparing their mild droughtand our severs drought. It shows that the country has gained tremendous resilienceduring this period. The momentum ofgrowth has been maintained. We shouldbe targeting between nine and ten percent growth this year and the average fiveper cent target for the Seventh Plan willbe surpassed during the Seventh Plan.

We made good use of the rain. The grain output target that was set. was already very ambitious; we had set a target which was much higher than any previous record production. Our farmers, our khetmazdoor, our extension workers, and all those involved in the infrastructure have ensured that even this record target will be surpassed this year by the production. We have a specially good crop for cotton, for sugarcane and for oilseeds. The industrial growth has also been good, has been over 8% in the first three years of the Plan and it is likely to be over 9% in the Eighth Plan. Central outlay for the Plan which was a record 90% for the Sixth Plan, is a new record 115% for the Seventh Plan. It shows our commitment to the planning process. The economy is today on an accelerating growth path. It is exceptionally buoyant and for this I would like to thank and congratulate all the people of India, especially the poorerand the weaker who had to work so much harder to bring this about. The buoyant growth has been accompanied by a thrust in poverty alleviation. We have given a new thrust for employment generation. Consider the expenditure on poverty alleviation. If we include in poverty alleviation the programmes, the allocations directly for anti-poverty programmes, and we add to that the welfare programmes which are specifically targeted for the poor, and we add the human resource development programmes, also targeted to the poor, we find that in 80-81 the number was 1.6% of GNP, in 85-86 which was the first year of this administration, we raised it to 2.3%, and this year it has gone up further to 2.5% In all there will be over Rs. 9000 crores directly targeted to the poorer sections of our people. The Budget has given new initiatives for productive employment. The thurst is for an accelerated growth path. We have taken from the rich to give to the unemployed. In the Jawaharlal Nehru Rozgar Yojana we are merging and revamping the NREP and RLEGP programmes. The ICDS coverage has been expanded by approximately one-third to cover 2200 blocks because this is really the weakest of the weak sections in our society, the little children who need all the help that they could get. We would have done more but we were not able to, not because we did not have funds or did not have the will to allocate funds, but the infrastructure, trained manpower, was not available to cope with anything more than we could give. So we were limited

[Shri Rajiv Gandhi] only by that constraint to 2200 blocks; otherwise, we would have gone much higher. We hope next year with increased manpower availability we will be able to do very much more. We have given sarees to the destitute women and we are now looking at what administrative measures are required to focus on the unemployed, on the unemployed and the unorganised, because these are the two weaker sections in our society. The Planning Commission's Employment Policy Division will be upgraded. We will strengthen the Rural Development Department to include rural employment and to bring the National Rural Labour Commission in so that everything comes under one head and is not divided, not split, and the focus can be more concentrated.

In the Ministry of Urban Development, we would like to give a new thrust to employment-intensive sectors such a" construction and services.

Sir, it is absolutely clear that the alle gation that has been made that this Government is not interested in removing poverty, that the anti-poverty prog rammes are starved, that there is nothing in the Budget for poverty removal, etc only shows the poverty of truth amongst some Members of the House.

Sir, in the war on poverty, we have employed technology, both as the cutting edge of the sword and as the shield to protect. We have looked at technology at every level, from very high technology to medium technology, to low technology. But the focus, the target, has always been the weakest and the poorest.

Sir we are using technology to break the back of poverty. For example, in the Drinking Water Mission, there is a very high technology such as satellite imagery and nuclear sounding to locate water and measure the amount of water. There is a simple low-level technology in the guineaworm eradication programme. In the immunization programme, we have high technology vaccines, middle technology cold chain systems, and the low-technology disposable syringes. In agriculture, we have high technology, the biotechnology which is going just about to every section, every area of agriculture, and the very low-level technology such as the oil gun in the Oilseeds Mission. So, we have technology and arc using technology at every level, but focussing technology on removing poverty.

Sir, overall, our approach to technology has been to refocus it or to get out of dividing our attention into too many areas and to concentrate on a problem that will change the life, the daily life of our people, and it is in this sense that we have brought about the Technology Missions which look at every aspect of technology, right from the laboratory, and bring it into the homes and life of our people, highest to the lowest, but focus always on the life of our people and bring about change.

Sir, although the economy has done very well, there are two areas of concern and I must point them out here. The first is prices and the second is balance of payments. We have to be careful on both. The prices are going up, especially in some sensitive commodities. In some sensitive commodities, the price levels are higher than the general level. Although the Wholesale Price Index is all right, the Consumer Price Index and the other prices are a little higher and they are causing a severe pinch where certain commodities are concerned, especially to the very vulnerable sections of our society, and a lot of care will be needed in this regard.

Sir, essential commodities will be made available at proper prices and the vulnerable sections will be helped out. We are determined to rein in the prices and that determination has been shown by the deficit which we have cut to below Rs. 8,000 crores and let me asure you. Sir, that we will maintain this deficit.

During these last two years, we have been very disciplined in maintaining our deficits very close to the Budget Estimates that were presented and, today, I am specially heartened to see all my Ministers thumping the tables because it is they who will have to hold them when the time comes towards the end of the year.

Sir, the PDS is essentially a tool with which we have to control inflation and to fight back on prices. For the last two years, over 9000 new outlets per year have been opened. This is an exercise that we started off in the first year of the drought. We saw that there were problems, and to break the drought, to break the back of the drought, we started this programme. It will help us now. This is approximately one and a half to two times the target that wc set for the growth rate of PDS.

The other worry is true balance of payments. Again, the control on budget deficits will help control the BOP deficit also. Budget measures have already been taken to bolster exports, and we feel that the export growth which has been very high these two years as I said earlier, can be made even higher to help us in this area. Bulk purchases arc no longer the bulk of our imports. So the simple measures that we used to control imports in the past cannot be used any more, and sophisticated and intricate measures are needed to restrict the rise of imports. We are looking at it, and we will take suitable.action.

Another area which has been agitating the minds of some Members is our devolution programme in the panchayati raj area. I want to assure, reassure, Members that wc have no intention of undercutting or bypassing in any way the State Governments. This is a major legislation programme where we want to revamp and recast the panchayati raj system to effectively ddevolve power on the people. *(Interruptions)* This is not an issue between the Centre or States or the Congress and non-Congress. There is no intention of bypassing any State Government. Let me clarify: We are not attempting to rule the districts from Delhi but we are helping the people to rule their own lives. *(Interruptions)* Sir, we are not attempting to erode the State authority. But we are attempting to reinforce people's authority. *(Interruptions)* We are not attempting to alter the basic structure. But we are realising the vision of the Constitution. We are determined to realise Gandhiji's dream of democracy commencing from the villages. The Constitution conferred on the States the responsibility for realising this dream. But that dream was not fulfilled. Wc arc determined to realise that dream. *(Interruptions)*

Sir, when we arc properly ready, we will call a conference of State Chief Ministers and discuss all these issues that are involved. The fear that Chief Ministers will not be consulted is just a paranoia or perhaps motivated malice.

Sir, during the last session we came out with a National Perspective Plan for Women. We have been working on it and there are certain things with which we would like to go ahead. A number of things are under consideration. But the following measures we have agreed to take and we will be following them up immediately.

The first is in the assets that arc given by the Government, whether it is wasteland or surplus ceiling land or the housing sites or Indira Awas Yojana. We would like to sec that these are jointly in the names of husband and wife or in the name of the woman. *(Interruptions)* In poverty alleviation programmes wc would like 30 per cent women to be the beneficiaries. In reservations to local bodies we shall make recommendations to the States because it is something that they have to look at. In representation in the national development effort we will see that bodies such as the Planning Commission have adequate representation and we will commend the States to take similar

[Shri Rajiv Gandhi]

action. Again regarding representation in recruiting organisations such as the U.P.S.C., we will sec that there is proper representation and we will commend the States to do the same. We would also like to have a Commissioner for the Rights of Women who will see that there is timely action in cases- of atrocities.

SHRI N.K.P. SALVE (Maharashtra): Will it be a mm?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Obviously a male chauvinist speaking up.

Sir, India cannot develop and grow without looking outside. We live in one world as one humanity and we must look outside and see what is happening in the rest of the world. We have not been resting on our oars. We have moved forward very vigorously on the interna tional front. Here I would like to thank broadly all the opposition parties for the support that they have given us in our foreign policy. There has been a national consensus specially on some difficult issues and I will specially like to thank them for it. That is in spite of the confusion that the National Front foreign policy paper seems to have thrown in. I am assuming.....

PROF. C.LAKSHMANNA: There is no Natioal Front paper on foreign policy.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, 1 am getting more and more confused about this National Front.

PROF. C.LAKSHMANNA: You don't want to be clear. That is the whole problem. It you want to be clear, then there is no problem about it.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: From what the hon. Members say I understand that the foreign policy paper of the National Front has been rapidly withdrawn.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: It was never there.

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: There is no paper of the National Front on foreign policy. Let it be very clear.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I understand that the National Front has no foreign policy.

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: I have only said that there is no draft paper from the National Front on foreign policy.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Anyway, Sir, it is only confusion confounded. Better we should carry on.

Sir, during the inter-scssion period I visited China. It was the culmination of a process that was started by Indiraji. The result of that visit is a Joint Working Group which will look jointly into measures for fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable solution to the problems in the border areas. They will also take steps to maintain peace and tranquillity in the border areas. We had agreements on bilateral cooperation and further cooperation will be through a Joint Committee which will look into economic relations, trade relations and science and technology cooperation. What was most interesting was the talks that I had with the leadership where there was so much of commonality in thinking on major issues. They were issues of international importance such as the direction that global relationships were taking and we both looked to the Panchshecl as the guiding points for world in the new relationship. Or there were problems of economic dcdvclopmcnt; we found that the problems we faced were very similar, the solutions wc found were not very different. And here I found that our perceptions in Government, from the Congress were much closer to those of the Chinese than many who follow their policies much more closely. Sir, we have agreed that there is very little difference in our view of the new international order, whether it

is in the political relationships or the economic relationships, that is to come about. We have also agreed that there is need for co-operation on environmental front as a starting point for co-operations.

Sir, I have also visited Pakistan. We welcome the return of democracy in Pakistan. The dialogue that was initiated with the Pakistan Prime Minsiter has prospects for normalisation of the relations between us. Sir, in Sri Lanka, during this inter-session period, things have moved fairly well. Most members seem fairly satisfied when they spoke. The Presidential election and the Parliamentary elections have seen a very high turn-out despite the threats of violence. The IPKF operations have been successful, and I would like, on our behalf, on behalf of the whole House, to congratulate the IPKF on the work that they have done. We salute their achievements. We hope that the continuing implementation of the Agreement will lead to a progressive end to violence in Sri Lanka.

Sir, we have worked for a world order, for a better humanity in the vision of Gandhiji and the vision of Panditji. Indi-raji had broken the ice when the two powers, the Soviet Union and the United States were not talking to each other. Indiraji initiated the 'Six Nation-Five Continent Initiative'. And it is from that Initiative that the ice was broken. It was from there that we see the development and progress that we have seen on these fronts today. The INF Treaty has been signed. There is more progress. Last June, we presented a major paper to the Special Session on Disarmament at the UN. It was the first comprehensive Paper on the issue of Disarmament that any nation has placed. We are proud that it is India which is able to do it. We have been working consistently for a New International Economic Order, and in the coming months, we intend to be much more aggressive and forth-coming on this front. The two other areas where we feel international co-operation is required are on environment and space-environment because with the technology that we have today, a mishap in one part of the world can very quickly affect the people right across the globe. Some action such as the release of carbon-dioxide on one part of the globe can change the climate completely in another part of the world.There is need for co-operation. It is a very complicated subject. And it gets even more complicated because those who cause most of the problems suffer, perhaps, the least of the consequences. But we will be working at this also. Space is a new area which should not be allowed to be spoiled. And some sort of order should be brought about. In concluding, I would like to thank all the Members who participated and I would like to request them to join us in supporting the Motion of Thanks, to the President for his gracious Address to this Parliament. Thank you.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Would any of the Members like to withdraw his amendment?

With your permission may I put all the amendments to vote or would any of you like your amendments to be voted separately?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Together.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now I will put amendment Nos. 1 to 14, 110 to 138, 161 to 174, 183 to 191, 202 to 210 and 270 to 284 to vote.

The motion was negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the motion to vote. The question is:

That an Address be presented to the President in the following terms:

> 'That the Members of the Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled to-

gether on the 21st February, 1989."

The motion was adopted.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The House is adjourned till 11 A.M. on Tuesday, the 7th March, 1989.